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Comment

Incorporating Empire

MONARCHY AND COMMONWEALTH

IN the universal sorrow at the death of George VI, it is only natural that thoughts should turn to the historic rôle of the Crown. The story of its development is full of significance for the people of this country and of the Colonies alike. The Crown can be seen as the instrument, and not the mere symbol, or a conception of unity which now extends over half the earth's surface.

The germ of that unity was nourished, in the beginning, amongst the small and warring groups which settled in England after the Roman legions were withdrawn. It was the Crown which drew them together in a common loyalty, the Crown which imposed law on the over-mighty subject, the Crown which summoned councils and Parliaments to meet in royal palaces, the Crown which established a country-wide administration which was later taken over, rather than created, by the forces of democracy. The process was slow and painful. It involved conquest, suppression of rebellion, and confiscation of land. But it made a nation.

The process was possible because monarchs found it desirable and necessary to rule according to law. The Crown was the fount of law and justice. The King's peace and the King's courts ultimately prevailed over those of ealdorman and baron. But the King himself was bound to obey the law, and even the Norman conquerors who first stabilised the kingship were prepared to transform rather than to suppress the institutions of the people. 'This I will and order that all shall have and hold the law of King Edward as to lands and all other things, with these additions which I have established for the good of the English people,' said William I as he confirmed the English laws. If the authority of the Crown made nationhood possible, it was the combination of authority with the efforts of the people which made the nation

democratic. This combination many of our Colonies are striving to attain to-day. Looking back over the centuries, we can see that both sides had to make the effort at co-operation, and that when one or the other failed, violence and corruption ensued.

We can see also that at many periods the Crown has functioned at a level above and beyond the conceptions of the masses of the people. In some ways, it is doing so to-day. It was no small part of the achievement of George VI that he was not the mere tribal chief of the people of the United Kingdom, but in his own conduct personified the transition from Empire to a Commonwealth of many cultures. 'His Majesty played a considerable part,' said Pandit Nehru in his message of sympathy to the new Queen, 'when the relationship between Britain and India took a new turn and was based on friendship and free association. . . I was impressed by his thoughtfulness and understanding of us and our position and we welcomed him most willingly as head of the Commonwealth.' In putting a motion of condolence before the Gold Coast House of Assembly, the Speaker referred to the King's reception to the Commonwealth visitors to the opening of the new House of Commons: 'You may imagine my surprise and delight when . . . in the course of conversation with me, he began to speak about the new Gold Coast constitution, and offered some advice in relation to our working of it.' And Nene Azu Mate Kole, in seconding the motion, spoke of him chatting and joking 'with his people from Africa' during the African Conference of 1948—an example which, if faithfully emulated by all the Commonwealth, would go a long way to the total elimination of racial prejudice.

Queen Elizabeth is the first British sovereign to be proclaimed Head of the Commonwealth. Her great-great-grandmother, Queen Victoria, symbolised empire and protection. She will symbolise

Commonwealth and co-operation if all those who owe allegiance to her are able to achieve the broadening of mind and imagination which this new conception demands.

NIGERIA'S TEAM

NIGERIA'S new Council of Ministers is by no means a revolutionary body. Once again, as in the Gold Coast, the prophets of red ruin have been proved wrong. Instead of a rabble of 'agitators,' the new Ministers are substantial men of education. The Emir of Katsina and Malam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa have long been outstanding in the north. The four Western Ministers include the Oni of Ife and are led by Mr. S. L. Akintola, Action Group leader in the central House of Representatives. Mr. Nwapa, from the East, has served on the Palm Oil Marketing Board, and Dr. Endeley on the Cameroons Development Corporation. The East also has the distinction of sending into the Government a trained anthropologist from London University in the person of Chief Okoi Arikpo, who has the added advantage of having been an excellent member of the Labour Party when in this country. The path of the new Ministers will not, however, be all roses. As we have already pointed out, their status and powers are obscure, and the constitutional provision that four must come from each Region has resulted in the inclusion of four members of the Action Group coming from the West, and four of their opponents, members of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, coming from the East. In the House of Representatives, on the other hand, a solid block of N.C.N.C. members from the East sits in opposition. This coincidence of regional and party divisions is unfortunate and should have been avoided. Also to be regretted is the exclusion of Dr. Azikiwe from the central House. This did no credit to anyone, least of all to his own party, some of whose members obviously need to take a few elementary lessons in comradeship.

The elections have also revealed serious weaknesses in party organisation in the Eastern Region, and many undesirable features in the machinery of election. Accounts of corruption have not been mere wild rumour, while in Benin there was violence. Despite their other urgent preoccupations, it is to be hoped that the new Ministers will lose no time in considering these problems, for in many areas new electoral machinery will be necessary in local government before the next general election is held. They might consider the fact that secrecy was not, apparently, regarded as

essential even by the Government, which happily published in its own weekly an account¹ of a village election in which 'Most of the voters whispered, but a few spoke up loudly and boldly with an air of "those are my choices and I don't care who knows it".' Nigeria can do much better than this, and will certainly do so if the new Ministers devote their attention to the problem. After all, the best team of Ministers on earth cannot function well if the machinery which sustains them is unsatisfactory. Many countries outside Africa, including our own, have learnt this from bitter and long experience.

CHANGES IN MALAYA

DESPITE the sustained campaign of the *Daily Telegraph* against Mr. Malcolm Macdonald and the various contradictory statements made by the Secretary of State during his Malayan visit and subsequently, no drastic change in political policy appears to have been made. Malaya now has a General as High Commissioner and a career civil servant as his civil Deputy. Their job is to tighten up the administration and to reorganise the campaign against the terrorists. Both are jobs that urgently require doing. If the original intention was that all attention should be concentrated on these to the exclusion of political development, then the protests of Malaya have averted a dangerous situation. But as matters now stand, Mr. Macdonald is to stay and the political directive is satisfactory. 'The policy of H.M. Government in the United Kingdom is that Malaya should in due course become a fully self-governing nation. H.M. Government confidently hope that that nation will be within the British Commonwealth.' Thus the Labour Government's pledge is renewed. There was also a welcome statement that 'To achieve a united Malayan nation there must be a common form of citizenship for all who regard the Federation or any part of it as their real home and the object of their loyalty.' We published last month summaries of the Bills already prepared to turn these words into action. Who is holding them up? If, as seems more than likely, it is the Sultans, it is to be hoped that General Templar will have success in persuading them to think differently.

General Templar himself made a statement on arrival, the tone of which was encouraging. 'One of the first things I want to do . . . is to get to know as many of the people of Malaya as I can—all kinds of people . . . I want to get to know people of all communities and classes so that I may better

¹ Reprinted in *Venture*, November, 1951.

understand their thoughts and difficulties and hopes and so be better able to help them.' If he can impress the same outlook on all his subordinate officials, again that will be a useful service. The only criticism of the new appointments has been centred on the refusal to appoint a Malayan to the post of Deputy High Commissioner. This will be largely an administrative post. The Deputy High Commissioner will have a seat on the Federal Executive Council, but he will not sit on the Legislative Council unless he is deputising for the High Commissioner; nor will he have any dealings with the Rulers. In the circumstances, the objection to a non-Malayan may be less important than it looks. After all, the primary tasks of Malaysians is to build a political movement, and when that is done, they will have Ministers who determine Government policy, as in the Gold Coast. How much still needs to be done in this direction is unfortunately revealed in the communal victories in the Kuala Lumpur elections, at the expense of the Independence for Malaya Party and the Labour Party. If these difficulties could be overcome, there would soon be an end to the emergency and the origin of senior officials would be almost irrelevant.

KILLING PARTNERSHIP

IF Mr. Oliver Lyttelton wants to help the development of inter-racial partnership in Central Africa, he is certainly not going the right way to get it. Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland having demonstrated their opposition to the principle of federation with Southern Rhodesia, as well as to the details of the proposals for federation drawn up by the London conference of officials, the Northern Rhodesian African representatives to the Victoria Falls Conference made a positive suggestion. If partnership were to be the bedrock of any federation, as the Victoria Falls Conference decided, then let partnership be defined, 'and as so defined, put into progressive operation.' This was surely a fair offer. 'If you mean what you say,' it said in effect, 'then tell us what you mean.' No one has yet seen fit to attempt this definition.

The leader of the European Elected Members in Northern Rhodesia could, one would have thought, have invited at least the African Members of Legco to talk it over. The Elected Members could have said what *they* meant by the term. They could, for example, have told the Africans how many more African seats in Legco they would be prepared to accept, whether they were prepared to assist the Africans in getting the industrial colour bar on the Copperbelt removed, whether they would use their influence with their opposite numbers in Southern

Rhodesia to persuade them to give legal recognition to trade unions, whether they would reconsider their attitude towards immigration and land settlement—all of these things they could have said. They did not do so. In the weeks following the Victoria Falls Conference, which were used by Southern and Northern Rhodesian European delegates to make many wounding statements, not a word was said by the British Government on partnership. In Northern Rhodesia, the Governor in opening the Legislative Council on November 10 said that 'consideration' was being given to the question of 'attempting to define' partnership. It was hardly surprising that a few days before he spoke a much-publicised meeting of Africans at Kitwe had rejected the idea altogether. Partnership, they said, 'will cut this country from direct connection with the Colonial Office,' would 'endanger African land rights,' would imply 'equal racial representation, regardless of the majority,' 'lessen Immigration control,' and 'prevent Africans from becoming a nation.' If these were, as the Chief Secretary said, 'the irresponsible statements of a few misguided individuals,' then the need to explain what was in the Government's mind was surely clearly demonstrated. Instead, Mr. Lyttelton made his statement in favour of federation on November 21, and no amount of questioning in the House of Commons could make him say a word about partnership. Finally, at the beginning of December, the Governor opened the African Representative Conference, called upon it to define partnership, and said:—

"The word *partnership* has been used more and more often since 1945. It is a policy that has already brought enormous benefits to Africans. *It is, and will remain, the approved policy for this country. It will benefit Africans still more in the future, to an extent that will largely depend on Africans themselves.*" *It was a policy which had been implicit in the administration for many years.*" (Central African Post, 6.12.51.)

After that, it was hardly surprising that the African Representative Council refused to join in discussions on the subject, despite a courageous and constructive speech from one of the African members of Legco.

The federation controversy has since gone from bad to worse. Sir Godfrey Huggins and the Governors of the two northern territories came to London for secret talks. No Africans were present. No official public statement was made. Instead, Sir Godfrey openly criticised the safeguards for Africans embodied in the officials' federation plan, and said 'he would be prepared to push federation through whether the Africans supported it or not' (*Manchester Guardian*, 22.1.52). No doubt he

would, but would Mr. Lyttelton? Nobody has been told. All we have been told is that objections to the officials' plan have been made, that all three Governments have been asked to inform H.M. Government and each other by March 1 'of any modifications to the officials' proposals that *each of the Governments*' (all of whom are now committed to federation) 'may consider desirable.' Then a 'full' conference will be held in London in April to prepare a draft scheme for federation, which will 'be considered in the countries concerned.' By whom? We are not told. And Partnership? Again, we are not told what it means, and whether all compromises must come from the African side, as the Governor of Northern

Rhodesia appeared to suggest.

This kind of procedure can only embitter Africans further. We have never believed that it was sound policy for them to refuse to discuss partnership, federation, or anything else for that matter. They have a contribution to make to these discussions which should be made. If they refuse to make it, the fault lies at the door of those who are driving them into negative opposition. And if, in the end, Sir Godfrey Huggins and the Secretary of State try to impose federation, they will not only betray the pledge of protection given to the Africans, as the Africans themselves consistently point out, by Queen Victoria, but their federation will be still-born as their partnership has been.

WHAT IS PARTNERSHIP?*

by John Hatch

THE constitutional and legislative aspect of racial partnership has been so fully covered in *Venture* that all I need to add to it is that in isolation it will not work. Laws must have some relation to the social and economic environment for which they are devised, and, at the moment, any legislative blue-print designed to create genuine partnership between the races is conceived in a vacuum.

On the whole I agree with the proposals made in *Venture* to devise a constitution within which colour prejudice can be destroyed, though I would suggest that the details will vary in each territory, and there will have to be a flexibility and empiricism which Rita Hinden has suggested elsewhere. But the most perfect of constitutions cannot either remove prejudice or create that positive partnership which should take its place. This can only be done by changing the social environment which so profoundly conditions these human relationships. In that task legislation can only play a subsidiary part, and if it is regarded as the major influence, will defeat its own ends, bringing parliamentary government itself into ridicule.

Two American social scientists once wrote: 'Prejudice should be seen as part of the cultural equilibrium in which the individual or group lives. . . A change in prejudice is, therefore, equivalent to a change in the level of the equilibrium. The futility of attempts to change a prejudice by a direct single-item attack is fully comprehensible in this light.'

What is needed to change this 'cultural equilibrium'? It is obvious that legislation alone cannot do so. The fact is that in most of British Africa white society is much less culturally balanced than black society. We may regard tribal life as 'backward' and even 'reactionary,' but at least it keeps its people fully

occupied in a mixture of hard work and hard play. Neurosis, boredom, and status maintenance are not its common attributes. On the other hand, too often white society is an almost complete cultural void. Another American sociologist has suggested that: 'The white man, casting off the feudal faith in which the place of man and master was fixed, had made a declaration which was beyond his psychological capacity. ("That all men were naturally free, that they possessed in their hearts those impulses that made dignity and nobility a human right.") It was a wishful dream of maturity. He soon discovered that being mature was a difficult position to maintain. Just as an individual faced with a difficult decision will often regress to less mature methods for gaining satisfaction, so human beings in the aggregate resent the loss of a secure dependence on a fixed social system and an omnipotent God. Their feelings of prestige are, however, threatened by such feelings of dependent longing. By enslavement of others and by the myth of white superiority, their prestige feelings are propped up. Industrial civilisation had robbed white men of both human dignity and security. The development of the myths of racial inferiority at least gave white men the illusion of being gods. They could control some "inferior's" fate even if their own lives were so empty and impotent.'

If we are to alter the cultural equilibrium therefore, our first task is to fill this emptiness and cure the impotency of white society. Too often the emphasis has been placed upon 'taking white civilisation to the Native.' He usually has far greater cultural reserves than the white colonist, and his major need is to find the opportunity to express and develop his cultural forms. But the white man—and much more the white woman—lives largely in a circle of sport, bridge, gossip and drink, with a cinema as the climax of cultural effort. Until this is altered the feverish

* See *Venture*, December, 1951, January and February, 1952, for previous contributions to this discussion.

search for prestige maintenance will continue to frustrate any hope of racial partnership.

In the effort of alteration one common media is fundamental. Education is the keystone to this whole change in human relations. There are many aspects of educational influence, through press, radio, cinema, literature, schools, colleges, public forums, adult classes. If I emphasise only one it is because it seems to me to be immediately practicable and ultimately of paramount significance.

The whole formal educational system in the African Colonies needs drastic and immediate revision. When I was in Nairobi last August Mr. E. A. Vasey, then Member for Education, told me that if he could get the money he would build a boarding school to which he would send selected children from each of the races, thereby beginning to build up a new generation of men and women with real understanding of and friendship for each other. That is a start. When it is extended to primary and secondary schools, to colleges and universities, and particularly when there has developed a strong system of adult classes on an inter-racial basis, the emptiness of white lives will begin to be filled, the cultural equilibrium will begin to change, and positive partnership in joint endeavour will begin to emerge.

From this sound foundation it will be possible to change the whole environment of colonial society. At the moment the only reward which education has to offer to most Africans is a share in the frustration of white society, unaccompanied by the material comforts. A friend of mine, who is one of the few African school inspectors in Nyasaland, is not only prevented from having a drink in an hotel with me in his native land, but visits 170 schools on a bicycle or bus, whilst his white colleagues can use their cars and receive many more times his salary for precisely the same work. Partnership between African and European educated men and women is impossible on this basis, which leads directly to mutual frustration and tension.

This is the responsibility of the Colonial Office. It is more than time that all parties in the British Parliament agreed on a joint declaration of their complete rejection of all forms of discrimination based on skin colour and that the Colonial Office saw to it that it is implemented throughout the Empire, and selected white immigrants accordingly.

The hard fact is that most of the Colonies still need European experience and initiative, but European immigrants must go to the Colonies with a conception of service, not of personal gain in prestige or money. Once the lead is given by the Colonial Office, the adventure of inter-racial education and development effort will fill the vacuum in white society and open the doors of opportunity to white, black and brown initiative. It will not then be found difficult to devise constitutional arrangements, based presumably for some time to come on an equal educational test for the franchise, recognising the claims of all partners. But until the beginnings of this change in human relations have been made, the most adroit political manoeuvres will end in frustration.

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

On February 18 the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, received a deputation from the Bureau. The deputation was led by Lord Faringdon and consisted of Sir Richard Acland, M.P., Mr. F. W. Dalley, Mr. C. W. W. Greenidge, Dr. Rita Hinden, Mr. John Hynd, M.P., Lord Lucan, Miss Marjorie Nicholson, Mr. R. W. Sorensen, M.P., Mr. H. W. Wallace, M.P., and Mrs. Eirene White, M.P. After the deputation had been received, the following press statement was issued:—

The deputation expressed alarm at the statement issued on February 4 that a full conference would be held in London towards the end of April to formulate a final draft scheme for Central African federation. It asked for an assurance that no federal scheme would be imposed against the opposition of African opinion, and asked for full participation by Africans in all discussions. The deputation also expressed concern that the proposal made by the Northern Rhodesian representatives at the Victoria Falls Conference that a policy of partnership should be defined and put into operation had so far produced no results.

The Secretary of State said that no good purpose would be served by delay in calling a conference, because at present there was no detailed scheme to provide a focus for public discussion. He said that the April Conference would be different in intention from the Conference which had previously been proposed for July, in that the latter had been intended to reach decisions binding upon the Government whereas the conference now to be held in April was intended only to formulate a final scheme which could be discussed both in Africa and in London. The Secretary of State was most anxious that African representatives should attend the conference, and stressed that attendance would commit nobody to federation but would only show willingness to discuss terms and conditions on which federation might be acceptable. The British Government would be willing to examine any modifications of the officials' scheme for federation and would need to be satisfied with the safeguards for African interests in any scheme evolved. There were no grounds for African fears that the territories would be amalgamated. In regard to partnership, the Secretary of State said that the Africans themselves had not been willing to take part in discussions designed to draw up a preliminary definition of partnership. They had, however, asked that a Government definition should be drawn up and referred to representative African organisations at all levels. The Governor is now examining the possibilities of making progress on these lines.

The delegation urged most strongly that any draft scheme drawn up by the Conference should receive the fullest consideration not only by legislatures but also by bodies representative of Africans throughout the three territories. They reiterated their belief that no scheme should or indeed could be imposed.

CO-OPERATIVES IN NORTHERN RHODESIA*

by a Correspondent

Northern Rhodesia formed its Co-operative Department in 1947 and has a number of different kinds of societies—producers', thrift and loan, and consumers' societies, both European and African. The figures quoted in this article are from the Department's *Annual Report 1950*. The attention of readers is also drawn to the *Community Development Bulletin* (Vol. II, No. 3, June, 1951), published by the Mass Education Clearing House, which contains an article by H. H. Thomson describing a peasant farming experiment in which African families were settled on individual holdings, with Government loans, and conditions of good husbandry laid down. All were members of a Co-operative Society.

AFRICAN co-operatives have developed in Northern Rhodesia through Government assistance rather than as a result of specific demands for co-operatives amongst Africans themselves, but amongst Africans there was a sense of co-operation on which to work. Co-operation in traditional African tribal life took the form of taking produce to the chief, who distributed it to workers, visitors to his capital or to the victims of famine. The contribution more often took the form of a few days' work given to the chief in his gardens. The chief was generous and kept open house, and the people liked and admired him for that. Perhaps one stretches the use of words too far to call that 'co-operation,' but the idea of deriving benefit from work given as a community was there.

There was also a wide discontent with the poor prices paid for produce, and a growing knowledge that there was a way of doing better. An African family cultivates about five acres of land and has about twenty or thirty acres regenerating under a slow growth of forest until it shall become plot by plot ready for re-cutting and planting again. Often the soil is poor and very little more than subsistence farming can be done. In some places there are no tsetse-fly and the people have cattle, but they never have enough for manuring their land thoroughly. It is generally thought that manuring and chemical fertilisers are necessary if a prosperous peasant community is to be established. The cost of fertilisers can only be borne if the farmer can market his crops to the very best advantage.

The Producers' Co-operatives help him to do this. In 1950 there were 30 of these, with a membership of 6,285. This is not very many out of an African population of 2m., and the majority still sell their surplus to dealers at the small 'Kaffir truck' stores, to which they often have to carry their produce 20 or 30 miles on their heads. A man's load of maize

would be bought for about 2s. 6d., or of groundnuts for 4s., and there was often an obligation to buy something from the store with the money. There was also the danger that the store would have stopped buying when the farmer arrived. The storage room was small and the trader's market limited and easily satisfied.

The producers' co-operatives give a better price, an assured market and buying depots much closer to the producing areas. In the case of some crops, such as groundnuts and Burley tobacco, there is the delightful experience for a producer of being paid once when he delivers his crops and again when the bonus is fixed and paid out. This is done at the end of the season's trading when the co-operative can calculate its profit or loss.

The Africans who have been enrolled under the Government-sponsored scheme of controlled and supervised 'peasant farmers' have formed co-operative societies for marketing their crops. With the advantages of advice, improved seeds, and loans for cattle, equipment and the manuring of their land, they can sell their surplus and redeem their loans. A beginning has been made with shelling of groundnuts by machinery and the grading of Burley tobacco, and last year the promised rice huller started work in the Katete Development Area. The idea of corporative unity is not always evident. Farmers will sell outside their marketing union if they can get a better price. This is specially marked in the retail co-operatives. If the commercial stores' price is a fraction lower, or if the store is a few hundred yards nearer the African will buy outside his co-operative. There were 20 African consumers' societies at the end of 1950, with a membership of only 3,716. They began with very little capital and the variety and attractiveness of the goods displayed do not compete with those in the commercial stores. Much of the weakness is caused by lack of experience. Two co-operatives were organised by a District Commissioner before the Government Department was formed. They lapsed after his transfer, for there was no one amongst the members with sufficient education and authority to

* The seventh in a series of articles on Co-operation. Previous articles were printed in May, 1951 (Tanganyika), July, 1951 (West Africa), October, 1951 (Gilbert and Ellice Islands), November, 1951 (Hong Kong), December, 1951 (Ceylon), February, 1952 (Nigeria).

(Continued on page 12)

LIBYA JOINS THE NATIONS

ON Christmas Eve, 1951, Libya became an independent sovereign state. Last month, it held its first national election.

Although as early as 1942 Mr. Eden had promised the Senussi that they should never again fall under Italian rule, disagreement among the Great Powers had held up any decision as to the ultimate status of Libya (temporarily administered by the United Kingdom and France), and it was not until 1949 that the General Assembly of the United Nations finally adopted a resolution recommending an independent status to be achieved by January, 1952.

While a United Nations Commission was sent out to Libya to supervise the transition, Britain had actually given self-government to Cyrenaica under its traditional secular and religious leader, the Emir Sayyed Idris; the first free elections in Libya since Roman times were held in 1950. In the meantime the provisional national assembly of all Libya chose Idris as their King in 1951. He holds power as a constitutional and hereditary monarch; the constitution provides for a bicameral federal legislature, and three provincial legislatures. Free compulsory education and personal freedom are also written in. The problem now arises to translate this excellent constitution from paper to reality.

King Idris rules over a land four times the size of France: a huge desert with a fertile coastal strip. It is not even a geographical expression, since it is divided into three provinces at varying stages of development, and war damage has ruined much of such development as existed. Cyrenaica, whose boundary runs with Egypt, is almost entirely desert, but it has the advantage that its population of 300,000 is largely homogeneous: semi-nomadic Arab tribes. Tripoli has been considerably developed in its fertile area, and through irrigation on the borderlines, by Italian colonists. Although this is to the economic advantage of the area and the Arab population is beginning to learn by example, yet the danger of an active minority of over 40,000 in a total population of only 800,000 has to be considered and weighed against this. The Fezzan, which has been under French administration, is little more than a vast desert with three oases in it. The population of some 50,000 is nomadic and backward. The economic material of a viable state is not promising, and the human outlook is less so. Artesian wells sunk recently in the Fezzan have relieved some 3,000 persons from the slavery of long hours of hand irrigation and water drawing. It was hoped that this labour-saving device would encourage the Fezzanese to grow other crops on their land, to care for their neglected date palms. But at present they continue to leave such cultivation as is done to the women and children.

It might seem to some the more admirable course

to leave Libya to its nomadic conditions rather than to inoculate the people with the poison of European commercialism. But not only does a section of the population wish to change, but the reason for Libya's lack of independence through the centuries still exists. Her uncomfortably strategic position in the Mediterranean makes it almost impossible for the Great Powers of whatever century to leave her alone. That is doubtless the reason behind the urgent U.N.O. resolution recommending technical aid, even before Libya becomes a member of the United Nations. Already experts have been sent to Libya, and a U.N.O. technical and teaching training centre has been set up. U.N.E.S.C.O. scholarships have been offered and accepted, and the U.N. Economic Mission has urgently stressed the need for international technical aid and capital investment.

Meanwhile, behind the facade, the jockeying for power continues. The United States holds air bases in Tripoli, France in the Fezzan. Italy is closely watching her economic interests and those of her nationals. There is already an Italian minister installed in Tripoli for this purpose. Egypt is working hard to obtain a subordinate ally and works via internal politics against British interests. She has also protested at the United Nations against British advisers to the new state, U.N.O. itself, nervous lest Libya should become a British Protectorate, is inclined to listen; but since Britain is the only country which has offered to underwrite the inevitable budgetary deficit of Libya, a grudging acquiescence is evident.

It is fairly obvious that the wisest course for Libya to pursue is that of a partnership with Britain. King Idris is an old friend of this country, and in the early years of the war when our victory was far from certain, he and his followers gave us incalculable service in the western desert. With British political and technical skill, King Idris should be able to steer his country between economic and political rocks to a reasonable state of inter-dependence, provided that external and international jealousies do not prevent this desirable consummation and reduce Libya to an international bone of contention. At present, they are keeping Libya out of the United Nations.

Molly Mortimer.

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FACT

SWEEPING THE POLLS ?

It is not generally realised that at a first election the numbers of the potential electorate who register are frequently very low. The fear of many opponents of the extension of the franchise that the polls will be swamped by masses of inexperienced voters appear to bear little relation to fact, as the following examples show:—

Federation of Malaya

Municipal elections were held in *Malacca* on December 5, 1951. Before the registration period, and after the registers were opened, all the normal publicity methods were used to persuade people to register—broadcasts, public address mobile vans showing documentary films, talks to local societies, placards, etc. About 49 per cent of the potential electorate registered. Elections were held in *Kuala Lumpur* last month. Owing to the restriction of the franchise to citizens of the United Kingdom and the Colonies born in the Federation or Singapore, Federal citizens, and subjects of the Ruler of Selangor, the potential electorate was in any case limited. On the registration of these, the *Straits Times* of January 22 commented: 'Every effort was made to enrol voters, but when registration was closed early in August there were only 11,657 names on the rolls. Although this total exceeded original expectations, it is still only approximately one-fifth of the potential electorate, estimated from the figures of the 1949 census. And the rolls would not have reached five figures but for a remarkable climax which saw over 3,000 names added in the last two days.' The same newspaper commented during the campaign that the number of voters might easily have been doubled if registration had still been possible, but noted that the interest shown at election meetings arose from concentration on national rather than local issues. 70 per cent of the registered electors voted, and 80 per cent were canvassed. In December, 1951, *Penang* held its first municipal election. 72.1 per cent of the registered electorate of 14,000 voted.

The Gold Coast

In the general election of January, 1951, interest in the election varied considerably, and was least in the Northern Territories. Owing to the method of indirect election adopted in the rural constituencies, it is difficult to draw conclusions. Replying to Mr. Sorensen on February 21 in the House of Commons, Mr. James Griffiths stated that only about one-third of the primary elections in rural constituencies were contested. In many cases villages agreed unanimously to choose their candidate by customary methods before the actual polling day. The electoral colleges were with few exceptions up to full voting strength.

In the municipal constituencies, 47 per cent of the registered electorate voted. It ought to be mentioned that in the Gold Coast all the resources of the Government and the political parties were used to persuade voters to register and vote, and the election was fought on rousing national issues.

INDIA AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE*

In fulfilment of her obligations as a member country of the Colombo Plan, India has sent some of her experts to foreign countries and has also offered special training facilities. An Indian expert on sericulture is now working in Ceylon. Offers of training have been made to Ceylon, Nepal and Pakistan.

Facilities offered to Ceylon include training of personnel in paper mill projects, land and sea customs, etc. Two students from Nepal and eight from Pakistan are expected to take a training in India on statistics. More requests from other countries are being considered.

India on her part has so far obtained 32 experts and training facilities have been made available for India under (a) a four-point agreement with the U.S.A.; (b) two technical co-operation schemes of the Colombo Plan; and (c) by specialised agencies of the United Nations.

Fifteen experts from the U.S.A. have come under the four-point agreement, four from various countries under the Colombo Plan and 13 from the Specialised Agencies of the United Nations. Of the training facilities already offered to 247 Indians, 44 offers came from the U.S.A. under the four-point agreement, 112 from the various Commonwealth countries under the Colombo Plan and 91 from the U.N. Specialised Agencies.

From the U.N. Specialised Agencies 13 experts and 91 fellowships have been received by India. Of the experts, three are from the United Nations, one from the International Labour Organisation, three from the Food and Agriculture Organisation, and six from UNESCO. Of the fellowships, 81 are from the U.N., 2 from F.A.O., and 8 from UNESCO. Special spheres in which these experts are working include conservation, state insurance of employees, statistics, housing, forestry including sawmill technology, pulp engineering and wood technology. Six experts sent by UNESCO are working on scientific and educational subjects.

Under the Colombo Plan, four experts are being received of which three are nursing sister-tutors from New Zealand and one from the United Kingdom who is a specialist in training personnel for tractor work.

* Reprinted from *India News*, 10.11.1951.

CORRESPONDENCE

Proportional Representation

Sir,—It was most refreshing to find, in the article on Kenya in your current issue, the case for Proportional Representation in colonial territories discussed reasonably; too often P.R. is dismissed just as lightly as your contributor dismissed its application to this country. There is a very strong case for the application of P.R. in the Colonies, particularly perhaps in the multi-racial territories of East Africa, a much stronger case than the 'Anything rather than communal electorates' of your article, and one that cannot be adequately expressed in a letter. P.R. is working well in Malta and its extension ought to receive much more consideration than it is given at present.

Yours faithfully,
F. E. Leese.

106, Abingdon Road, Oxford.

Foreign Firms

Sir,—In reply to Mr. Mellor's letter in February *Venture* I should like to make the following point. I did not wish to imply that the U.A.C. could control unilaterally the prices it received from the Marketing Boards. My point was that profits made out of West African trade do not consist only of profits made in West Africa by the trading companies. Profits are also made out of the processing of cocoa, palm products, etc., nearly all of which occurs outside West Africa. For complete economic independence I maintained that national governments in West Africa must (a) obtain control over the marketing of their products at every stage and (b) use the profits to develop processing industries in their own countries.

Yours faithfully,
Henry Collins.

The Lea, Barlaston,
Stoke-on-Trent.

[This correspondence is now closed.—ED.]

East African Education

Sir,—Our attention has been drawn to the feature in your December issue under the heading *Attitude to Africa*. Under the heading *Tanganyika*, Mr. J. Nyerere says: 'In East Africa only about 8 per cent of the African children get any schooling at all, while every European child is assured, at public expense, of full primary education.'

It has been said that figures can prove anything. We think it interesting, however, to point out to you that direct expenditure on African Education by the Government of Kenya for this year will amount to £1,421,678, or, in round figures, £1,400,000. We believe it is worth while to bring to your notice that the total direct taxation and school fees paid by Africans is only £857,900.

In case there should be an impression that the European community is opposed to African Education we believe it is worth while pointing out that this European Organisation of European Electors supported the extremely ambitious report of the Beecher Committee. On the other hand it would be

unreasonable not to recognise that what this Colony can afford to pay on educational services is dependent on what the economy of the Colony can support.

With regard to European Education, quite apart from the fact that Europeans are the major taxpayers, the total figure for European Education amounts to £512,581. In turn, Europeans pay fees for boarding and tuition, amounting to just under £250,000. When it is borne in mind that the total income tax for the Colony amounts to £3,400,000, of which the vast bulk is paid by Europeans, it does not seem unreasonable that the Colony should afford the relatively small figure of approximately £250,000 for European Education.

Yours faithfully,
Kendall Ward.
The Electors' Union,
Nairobi, Kenya.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: Readers are referred to the June, 1951, number of *Venture* for our own views on educational expenditure in Kenya, and to the January, 1951, number for figures given in the House of Commons in reply to questions asked by Labour Members of Parliament. We would also point out that the Report of the Beecher Committee fell far short of African hopes, as must any proposals conceived within the context of a system in which separate (and very different) provision is made for children of different races. The problem of equal educational treatment in multi-racial communities has been considered at the United Nations, and reported upon by a Special Committee appointed by the Committee of the General Assembly which considers information submitted on the non-self-governing territories. The following view was expressed:—

The Special Committee . . . records its view that:—

(a) In the field of education no principle is more important than that of equality of opportunity for all racial, religious and cultural groups of the population.

(b) Respect should be paid to the wishes of any group desiring to establish particular educational facilities for its members, but this should be subject to the overriding consideration that the general welfare of the whole community is not thereby prejudiced and that the practical operation of any system of differentiation does not lead to discrimination against any group.

(c) While the programme and organisation of different types of schools may properly be designed to meet the needs of different groups of pupils, it should be accepted as a general principle that no school should exclude pupils on grounds of race, religion, or social status.

(d) Differentiation in school facilities and programmes should not militate against the development of mutual sympathy and a feeling of common citizenship among the inhabitants of a Territory.

(e) Where separate systems exist, each group in the community should be given a fair share of the public funds used for educational purposes.]

¹ United Nations: Non-Self-Governing Territories. Summaries and analyses of information transmitted to the Secretary General during 1950, Vol. III, New York, 1951, pp. 22 and 23.

Guide to Books

John Robert Godley of Canterbury, New Zealand, and His Friends.

By C. E. Carrington. (Cambridge University Press. 27/6.)

This book by a foremost student of Commonwealth history is timely not only in respect of the 1950-51 Canterbury Centenary celebration, but also because it focuses our attention upon a mid-nineteenth-century Victorian whose contributions to the philosophy and practice of Commonwealth, as an association of independent States, has been undeservedly neglected.

Godley lived through momentous times, both in his native Ireland and in England. Famine and the effects of the 'new industrialism' were producing agitation and misery, and materialism was gaining many adherents. Born of the Protestant gentry, Godley was at once a disciple of Burke and a near-Jeffersonian. He believed that lasting reform must be restricted within the framework of traditional institutions, of which the most stable and constructive was the agricultural economy founded upon a common loyalty to Church and God—and here was no narrow denominationalist. More important that material class-interest was the acceptance of individual and class 'responsibility'—the pre-requisite for competent self-government and the decentralisation and separation of Church and State.

Godley arrived at his ideas of 'systematic colonisation' independently of Wakefield, his first effort (and failure) in this field having been his scheme for Government-sponsored removal of Ireland's excess population to the plains of Canada. To a 'Free Trade' and Mission-influenced Government this type of European expansion was anathema. Therefore, the later Canterbury project had to be a small-scale agricultural enterprise, completely supported by philanthropists and individual settlers of means and free to follow its own guiding principles. Canterbury was to be no Colony of dissidents, paupers, or social outcasts, and in this respect Godley parted both in principle and in practice from his original ideal of relief for the masses. A Church Colony, which was to be a transplantation of the 'best' in English society, was for men of substance, talent, and piety. Moreover, Canterbury's relatively small demand for labourers could not hope to affect the unorganised flow of the unemployed and under-nourished to North America and Australia.

With considerable effort in research, Mr. Carrington has emphasised Godley's role in the organisation of the Canterbury Association and in the actual founding of the Colony in New Zealand, but he has not neglected to give to the colonist's friends the credit due them. At the same time, he has not attempted to give a full history of the Colony's success past the period of Godley's direct influence on it. Rather, he has used the Canterbury material to illustrate the general aspects of Godley's more mature ideas on expansion—his faith in Britain's seventeenth-century

techniques of non-tropical colonisation and his belief in the vitality and independence of British institutions overseas. As a result, this book should become more popular than its title might lead one to expect.

R. P. Gilson.

British Imperial Trusteeship (1783-1850).

By G. R. Mellor. (Faber & Faber. 42/-.)

This is an important work of first-hand scholarship on a special aspect of imperial history. Mr. Mellor sets forth a vast quantity of evidence concerning the influence of the humanitarian ideal on British colonial policy: his classified bibliography covers twenty-two pages and the text consists largely of quotations from parliamentary and other official records and from the pronouncements of the Clapham Sect and other champions of indigenous peoples. He is concerned to rebut the view that humanitarianism was a mere cloak for sectional economic interests, but, as Professor Simmons says in a foreword, 'his book is history, not apologetics': he examines frankly the economic motives which entered into conflicting policies, but concludes that British policy was humanitarian-economic rather than economic-humanitarian.

The earlier chapters deal with the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery; the rest cover the treatment of coloured immigrants to the Colonies and of the 'aborigines' of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. In the conflicts over these problems we generally find the Colonial Office urging a policy inspired in greater or less degree by the pressure of humanitarian sentiment against the stubborn resistance of local interests taking their stand on the rights of local self-government and on the superior knowledge of the man on the spot.

E. E. Dodd.

Gramophone Records of African Music

Catalogued July, 1951. (Gallo (Africa) Ltd., 161, President Street, Johannesburg, and 11, Hanover Square, London, W.1.)

Mr. Hugh Tracey heard his first African song on a farm in Southern Rhodesia thirty years ago. He still remembers it. From that first encounter with Karanga folk music have come years of study and transcription, the African Music Society, and finally the African Music Transcription Library. The first 350 gramophone records are now catalogued 'in language groups, in classified types, in disposition of instruments, together revealing something of the structure and thought processes behind the mind of African composers and performers or the imitative faculties of those who prefer to copy foreigners from the West or the East.' The transcribers have ranged across the whole of Southern Africa, into the Congo and Mozambique, and as far north as Uganda. The library services are available to organisations and individual subscribers in South Africa, but some records may be bought in London (see above) and more are to become available.

M.

The Fabian Colonial Bureau

WHAT DOES IT DO ?

Reorganisation

Since the General Election of 1951, the Bureau has been through a very difficult period. The full consequences of the defeat of the Labour Government are only now beginning to reveal themselves in the Colonial field, but it was realised as soon as the result of the election was known that the need for sustained and well-organised work was now greater than ever. The Bureau's Advisory Committee met on November 22 and adopted a detailed plan for further work. It was decided to concentrate on the problems of plural societies and on certain aspects of economic development, in both research work and amongst Members of Parliament. A number of Members of Parliament serving on the Advisory Committee made themselves responsible for specific subjects. The Bureau particularly welcomed the projected expansion of the Labour Party's staff dealing with Commonwealth problems. It should therefore be possible to achieve a more satisfactory co-ordination of effort. While regretting the electoral defeat which made it possible to invite them, the Bureau has also been glad to welcome on to its Advisory Committee the three Labour ex-Ministers, Mr. James Griffiths, Mr. John Dugdale and Mr. Tom Cook. As Mr. Creech Jones and Lord Listowel had already rejoined the Committee before the General Election, it is fair to say that the Bureau now has the strongest possible team to advise in its work.

* * *

Finance

At the same time as the need for and possibility of expanded activity have opened up, the Bureau has had to face another of its recurrent financial crises. This has not yet been met, and members are therefore urged to do all they can to recruit new members and to expand the sale of *Venture*. The staff and facilities of the Bureau are already quite inadequate, and constantly rising prices threaten its maintenance even at present level. Since there is no financial return on a large part of the Bureau's work, we urge members to realise that the only permanent solution lies in the recruitment of more members.

* * *

Research

The progress of research work was gravely hindered by the loss of a whole month in 1951 when the election was being fought, and by subsequent preoccupation with reorganisation. The normal flow of pamphlets has therefore been interrupted, but work is now again in progress. Lord Listowel, Dr. Rita Hinden, Mr. Rawle

Farley and Mr. Colin Hughes are preparing a pamphlet on the West Indies. In Oxford, an inter-racial group of students from East Africa are attempting to reach agreement on proposals for future lines of policy in the territories from which they come. Assistance is being given to a member preparing a book on Colonial Executive Councils. Work is proceeding on public corporations, and a series of articles for *Venture* on marketing boards is in preparation. A sub-committee of the Advisory Committee is discussing the definition of 'Partnership' in relation to East and Central Africa. In common with other departments of the Fabian Society, the Bureau is also engaged in discussions with ex-Ministers on the lessons of the Labour Party's experience in office.

* * *

The Sudan

As a result of discussion in the Bureau's Advisory Committee on January 30, a letter was sent to the Foreign Secretary to ask that nothing should be done in the course of negotiations with Egypt which might prejudice the future independence of the Sudan. Letters urging that similar support for the Sudan should be expressed were sent to the leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, the Chairman of the Commonwealth Group of the Parliamentary Party and the Chairman of the Commonwealth Sub-Committee of the Labour Party Executive.

* * *

Southern Rhodesia

On December 7, 1951, Mr. Charles Mzingeli, Secretary of the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union in Southern Rhodesia, spoke at a meeting of Members of Parliament and of the Bureau's Advisory Committee in the House of Commons. An article based on his speech was published in the February number of *Venture*. The third version of the Native Land Husbandry Bill was passed by the Southern Rhodesian Parliament at the end of 1951. It represented an improvement on the first version, but still included the unsatisfactory clauses (for compulsory labour, etc.) which the Bureau had previously discussed with the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The Bureau accordingly wrote to Lord Ismay to ask again that the sections of the Bill providing for good farming practices should be introduced as a separate measure, and that the other measures should not be taken unless local councils failed to secure good farming by voluntary co-operation. It pointed out that the full allocation of land to Africans as recommended by the Danziger

Commission had not yet been made, and that no satisfactory progress was possible in Southern Rhodesia while the African population still suffered under serious grievances in regard to land. It also emphasised that previous discriminatory legislation to which the assent of His Majesty had been given on the advice of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations was still a source of discontent.

★ ★ ★

Kenya Electoral Bill

Owing to the Parliamentary recess, the Bureau was unable to protest officially against the amendment to the Kenya Legislative Council Ordinance passed in December. A letter of protest, published in the *Manchester Guardian* on January 15, was signed by C. W. W. Greenidge, Rita Hinden, John Hynd, James Johnson, Listowel, Marjorie Nicholson, John Parker, Hilda Selwyn-Clarke, R. W. Sorensen. The Vice-Chairman of the Bureau, Mr. Reginald Sorensen, M.P., also wrote to the Secretary of State but received a negative answer. A leading article on the introduction of separate electoral registers based on religion was published in the February number of *Venture*.

★ ★ ★

Conferences

On Saturday, June 7, the Fabian International and Colonial Bureaux will be holding a conference on South-east Asia to be addressed by Dr. Victor Purcell, Miss Dorothy Woodman and Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, M.P., with Mr. J. Griffiths, M.P., in the chair. Please book the date and details will be announced later.

The Political Committee of the London Co-operative Society and the Bureau will be holding a conference on Co-operatives in the Colonies and Co-operatives and the Asian Revolution on Saturday, May 24. Please book the date and details will be announced next month.

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Central African Federation: See page 5.

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keep them alive, and a difficulty has been encountered in that trained men are often offered better wages elsewhere and are lost to the co-operative movement. There has also been muddled accounting or fraud when supervision slackened.

Since the Department was established the number of European societies of all types has risen from 8 to 13, and the number of African societies from zero to 65. The African co-operatives are quite separate from those of the Europeans, but the Department insists that the way should be left open for mixed membership. If this comes anywhere it will be in the maize-growing areas on the railway-line, where European and African growers hold land side by side. There is some veiled hostility to the African Producers' Co-operatives, which are thought to threaten the labour market, and some opponents argue that the Government is deliberately spending money to develop a rival to European enterprise which Africans could not develop for themselves. The Co-operative Department has, however, made it quite plain that its services are available also for Europeans, and help has been given to their societies. Naturally, more help is needed by the Africans. The ideal grouping at which the Department aims is a number of primary societies, perhaps 10 to 20, feeding their produce into a marketing union, which has as an additional asset a wholesale and retail consumers' service for its members. The primary societies have all-African committees, but their meetings are often held when the European Supervisor or African Inspector pays a visit. An average society has about 100 members all known to each other. Some have paid secretaries or treasurers as the work increases beyond the scope of spare-time employment. Until the way of life for Africans in the industrial areas is greatly improved and becomes more satisfying socially, it is of great importance that some of the old rural stability should remain. It is the main task of the co-operative movement to make agriculture sufficiently prosperous to achieve this aim, which, in addition, cannot fail to raise indirectly the standard of the urban workers also.

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